

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 ACDE-00 SOE-02 AF-10 ARA-14
CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-12 EUR-12 PM-05 H-02 INR-10
L-03 NASA-02 NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02
PA-02 DOE-15 SAS-02 CEQ-01 OES-09 SS-15 ICA-20
NRC-07 /189 W

-----049164 311851Z /43

P 311819Z AUG 78
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3708

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PARM, CCD
SUBJECT: CCD: FINAL US STATEMENT AT CCD 1978 SUMMER SESSION

1. THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT WAS MADE AT THE 805TH PLENARY
SESSION OF THE SSOD BY US REP. (FISHER).

2. BEGIN TEXT.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR ADRIAN S. FISHER, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE TO THE CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT, AUGUST 31, 1978.

THIS MEETING IS THE LAST SCHEDULED MEETING OF THE 1978 SUMMER SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT. AT THIS TIME IT IS NOT INAPPROPRIATE TO REVIEW THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS WHICH THIS COMMITTEE HAS PRODUCED, BOTH IN ITS CURRENT NAME AND IN ITS PRIOR NAME -- THE EIGHTEEN-NATION COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT. THESE ACCOMPLISHMENTS INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING: THIS BODY WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROUNDWORK ON THE LIMITED NUCLEAR TEST

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BAN. THIS BODY WAS ALSO RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TREATY ON THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE SEABED ARMS CONTROL TREATY, THE BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION, AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION CONVENTION.

THE NEGOTIATION OF ALL OF THESE TREATIES OR CONVENTIONS TOOK TIME. THEY REQUIRED IN THE FIRST INSTANCE EXTENSIVE

CONSULTATION ON A BILATERAL OR TRILATERAL BASIS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE NUCLEAR TEST BAN BEGAN IN 1958; THE LIMITED TEST BAN WAS NOT COMPLETED UNTIL 1963, AND A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN HAS NOT YET BEEN COMPLETED, ALTHOUGH I BELIEVE AND HOPE THE SIGNS ARE PROMISING. A NON-PROLIFERATION ARRANGEMENT WAS UNDER DISCUSSION IN 1962. THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY WAS NOT SIGNED UNTIL JULY 1968 AND DID NOT COME INTO EFFECT UNTIL MARCH 1970. THE SAME IS TRUE OF THE OTHER TREATIES. THE SEA-BED ARMS CONTROL TREATY WAS FIRST PROPOSED AT THE END OF ENDC IN THE SPRING OF 1969. IT DID NOT ENTER INTO FORCE UNTIL MAY OF 1972. THE BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION BAN TOOK COMPARABLE TIMES TO BE COMPLETED. EACH, IN ONE DEGREE OR ANOTHER, DEALT WITH THE VITAL SECURITY INTERESTS OF NATIONS AND, IN THE WORLD IN WHICH WE FIND OURSELVES, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT EACH AGREEMENT WAS ACHIEVED ONLY AFTER THE MOST PAINSTAKING EFFORT TO SEE THAT NO NATION'S SECURITY WOULD BE IMPAIRED, AND THAT THE AGREEMENT REACHED WOULD ENDURE.

IN ALL OF THESE TREATIES THE ROLE OF THE CCD WAS A SUBSTANTIVE ONE AS IT BROUGHT TO BEAR THE VIEWS OF A BROAD CROSS-SECTION OF NATIONS ON ARMS CONTROL TREATIES IN WHICH THEY HAD A VITAL INTEREST.

MUCH WORK ON ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT HAD ALSO BEEN UNCLASSIFIED

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DONE OUTSIDE THE CCD. THE FIVE TREATIES OUTLINED ABOVE ARE BUT PART OF THE LIST OF EIGHT MULTILATERAL TREATIES AND TEN US USSR AGREEMENTS ON ARMS CONTROL WHICH HAVE BEEN NEGOTIATED DURING THE LAST TWENTY YEARS. THESE INCLUDE SUCH MEASURES AS THE ABM TREATY AND THE INTERIM AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS (SALT I) WHICH INCREASED THE STABILITY OF MUTUAL DETERRENCE, AS WELL AS OTHER BILATERAL MEASURES WHICH REDUCE THE RISK OF INADVERTENT NUCLEAR ATTACK. CONSTRUCTIVE REGIONAL AGREEMENTS HAVE ALSO BEEN REACHED, OR ARE IN VARIOUS STAGES OF NEGOTIATION, SUCH AS THE TREATY OF TLAHELCO ESTABLISHING A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE STILL CONTINUING NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS IN EUROPE.

THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THESE TREATIES AND THOSE NOW UNDER NEGOTIATION HAVE BENEFITED AND WILL CONTINUE TO BENEFIT THE WORLD. THERE IS A FEELING, HOWEVER, WIDELY SHARED BY MANY, THAT THIS BENEFIT IS BEING, OR EVEN HAS BEEN, OVERTAKEN BY AN EVER-LARGER ACCUMULATION OF WEAPONS AND THE INCREASING SOPHISTICATION OF THOSE WEAPONS.

THE REPORT OF A GROUP OF EXPERTS RECENTLY CONVENED BY

THE STANLEY FOUNDATION IN MEXICO CITY STATED A WIDELY HELD
VIEW:

THE HUMAN RACE IS FALLING BEHIND IN A RACE IT
DARE NOT LOSE. MORE STRENUOUS EFFORTS FOR
DISARMAMENT ARE REQUIRED, BOTH STEP BY STEP
AND COMPREHENSIVE MEASURES LEADING ULTIMATELY
TO GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT UNDER A
STRENGTHENED INTERNATIONAL SECURITY SYSTEM.
IT WAS CONCERNS OF THIS NATURE THAT LED TO THE CONVENING
OF THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS DEVOTED TO
DISARMAMENT AND TO THE ADOPTION BY CONSENSUS OF THE FINAL
DOCUMENT OF THAT SESSION WHICH WAS MORE PRODUCTIVE THAN I

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L-03 NASA-02 NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02
PA-02 DOE-15 SAS-02 CEQ-01 OES-09 SS-15 ICA-20
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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3709

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BELIEVE MOST OF US EXPECTED. I AM AWARE THAT SOME MEMBERS
OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT HAVE EX-
PRESSED A STRONG SENSE OF DISAPPOINTMENT THAT DURING THIS
SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT
WE HAVE NOT TAKEN ANY OF THE ACTIONS CALLED FOR BY THE
PROGRAM OF ACTION INCLUDED IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE
SPECIAL SESSION DEVOTED TO DISARMAMENT. I WOULD SUBMIT,
HOWEVER, THAT ALTHOUGH THE MOTIVATION FOR CONVENING THE
SPECIAL SESSION WAS A DESIRE TO SPEED UP THE PACE OF DIS-
ARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS, IT IS VERY DIFFICULT TO EXPECT THAT
A PROGRAM OF ACTION ADOPTED IN THE EARLY MORNING HOURS ON
JULY 1, 1978 -- ONE WHICH EVEN ITS MOST ENTHUSIASTIC SUP-
PORTERS SAID WOULD TAKE AT LEAST 2-3 YEARS TO IMPLEMENT --
BE CARRIED OUT IN THE CCD BEGINNING TEN DAYS LATER AND
LASTING FOR LESS THAN A FULL EIGHT WORKING WEEKS. IN-
STEAD, WE SHOULD LOOK AT WHAT WE CAN REALISTICALLY ACHIEVE

IN THE FUTURE, REFLECTING AS WE SHOULD THE INCREASED SENSE OF URGENCY INHERENT IN THE CONVENING OF THE SPECIAL SESSION AND IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT WHICH IT ADOPTED.

I BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD LOOK FOR GUIDANCE TO THE FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE SSOD, RECOGNIZING AS WE MUST, THAT THIS WILL DOUBTLESS BE SUPPLEMENTED BY ACTIONS OF THE 33RD
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GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UN, AND THE RESULTS OF THE FIRST SUBSTANTIVE MEETING OF THE REVITALIZED UNDC. MANY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS CONTAINED IN THE FINAL REPORT OF THE SSOD ARE NOW UNDER ACTIVE CONSIDERATION, IN MANY CASES IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE WORK OF THE CCD. IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON SALT, THE US AND SOVIET UNION ARE CARRYING OUT THE NECESSARY FIRST STAGE OF THE PROGRAM OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AS OUTLINED IN THE REPORT OF THE SSOD. NEGOTIATIONS ON THE CTB AND PROHIBITION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND RADIOLOGICAL WEAPONS ARE ALSO BEING CARRIED OUT CONSISTENT WITH THE FINAL DOCUMENT OF THE SSOD.

THE FINAL DOCUMENT HAS, HOWEVER, ALSO POINTED OUT MANY NEW AREAS OF CONCERN FOR THE NEGOTIATING BODY WHICH WILL BE LOOMING ON THE HORIZON. SOME COUNTRIES HAVE MADE SUGGESTIONS RELATING TO CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES. OTHERS HAVE OFFERED PROPOSALS ON VERIFICATION OF SPECIFIC ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS AS WELL AS MORE GENERAL PROPOSALS RELATING TO VERIFICATION. THERE HAVE BEEN STILL OTHER SUGGESTIONS ABOUT HOW TO HALT AND REVERSE THE BUILD-UP OF ARMAMENTS AND HOW TO DEAL WITH CONVENTIONAL ARMS LIMITATIONS. NOT ALL OF US WILL AGREE ON MANY OF THESE PROPOSALS BUT IT WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT TO SUBJECT ALL SERIOUS PROPOSALS THAT COULD LEAD TO MULTILATERAL DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS TO THE SCRUTINY WHICH ONLY A BODY OF HIGH EXPERTISE AND LIMITED MEMBERSHIP CAN PROVIDE.

A SPECIFIC TASK ON WHICH WE HAVE BARELY SCRATCHED THE SURFACE STILL LIES BEFORE US. I REFER TO THE ELABORATION OF A COMPREHENSIVE NEGOTIATING PROGRAM. TO EARLIER REQUESTS FROM THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY FOR THE CCD TO UNDERTAKE SUCH A TASK HAS NOW BEEN ADDED THE PROVISION IN THE FINAL
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DOCUMENT OF THE SSOD THAT THE DISARMAMENT COMMISSION DEVELOP RECOMMENDATIONS ON A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM FOR

DISARMAMENT TO BE FORWARDED THROUGH THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT. THE ELABORATION OF A COMPREHENSIVE NEGOTIATING PROGRAM WILL BE A DIFFICULT AND TIME-CONSUMING TASK. WE SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, SPEND THE COMING YEAR SIMPLY MARKING TIME AWAITING THE DISARMAMENT COMMISSION'S SUGGESTIONS.

MY DELEGATION DOES NOT PRESUME TO PRESCRIBE A WORK PROGRAM FOR THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT. THAT IS A TASK WHICH THE COMMITTEE, TO WHICH THE ADDITIONAL MEMBERS SHOULD BE BRINGING FRESH IDEAS AND APPROACHES, WILL HAVE TO DECIDE FOR ITSELF. MY THOUGHT HAS BEEN TO LOOK AROUND THE DISARMAMENT LANDSCAPE AND DRAW ATTENTION TO THOSE AREAS THAT WILL REQUIRE ATTENTION IN ADDITION TO THOSE WHICH THE MEMBERS OF THIS COMMITTEE HAVE BEEN ANTICIPATING. MY GOVERNMENT LOOKS FORWARD TO A BUSY AND CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE FOR THE MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATING BODY IN THE MONTHS AND YEARS AHEAD.

IN APPRAISING THE RESULTS ACHIEVED BY THE CCD, AND THE PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER RESULTS IN THE CD, WE MUST, OF COURSE, BEAR IN MIND THAT VOLUNTARY REDUCTION OF MILITARY POWER BY STATES IS A COMPLEX AND DELICATE MATTER AFFECTING NATIONAL SECURITY. WE ALL RECOGNIZE THAT EACH STATE HAS ITS OWN PARTICULAR CONCERN, BUT WE MUST ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT WE CAN ONLY SUCCEED IN OUR SEARCH FOR SUCH ARMS CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS IF WE MEET THE SECURITY INTERESTS OF ALL STATES. NO STATE WOULD BE WILLING TO COMMIT ITSELF TO A DISARMAMENT AGREEMENT THAT WOULD NOT ADEQUATELY SAFEGUARD ITS NATIONAL SECURITY. ONLY WHEN THIS BASIC PREMISE IS ACCEPTED BY ALL WILL SPEEDIER AGREEMENTS BE POSSIBLE.

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INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 ACDE-00 SOE-02 AF-10 ARA-14
CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-12 EUR-12 PM-05 H-02 INR-10
L-03 NASA-02 NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02
PA-02 DOE-15 SAS-02 CEQ-01 OES-09 SS-15 ICA-20
NRC-07 /189 W

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FM USMISSION GENEVA
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THE DELIBERATIONS THIS BODY HAS HELD OVER THE YEARS HAVE MADE PROGRESS TOWARD THE ACCEPTANCE OF THIS BASIC PREMISE. DESPITE CONTINUED DISAGREEMENT AMONG SOME OF US ON CERTAIN ISSUES, I THINK ALL OF US ARE ABLE BETTER TO UNDERSTAND THE VARIOUS POSITIONS AND VIEWPOINTS AND TO DISCERN THE AREAS OF COMMON INTEREST WHERE PROGRESS IS MOST LIKELY. THE STATES PARTICIPATING IN THE COMMITTEE HAVE ACQUIRED SUBSTANTIAL EXPERTISE WHICH SHOULD ENABLE THEM TO MAKE INCREASING CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOLUTION OF THE ISSUES BEFORE US. THOSE ISSUES ARE EXTREMELY COMPLEX. NO ONE SHOULD EXPECT THEM TO BE RESOLVED OVERNIGHT, AND THERE UNDOUBTEDLY WILL BE FURTHER FRUSTRATIONS AND DISAPPOINTMENTS. BUT THE UNITED STATES IS NOT DISCOURAGED BY THE DIFFICULTIES THAT LIE AHEAD. IT WILL CONTINUE TO SEARCH FOR MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS. FOR IF MAN HAS THE GENIUS TO CREATE TERRIBLE WEAPONS, HE EQUALLY HAS THE GENIUS TO CREATE, WITH PATIENCE, SAFEGUARDED WAYS TO REDUCE THEM AND, WE ALL HOPE EVENTUALLY TO ELIMINATE THEM. END TEXT. VANDEN HEUVEL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, DISARMAMENT, SPEECHES, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 31 aug 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 jan 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978GENEVA13222
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780356-0482
Format: TEL
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t1978085/aaaaadkp.tel
Line Count: 299
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 31ee6f61-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 mar 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: N/A
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1697123
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CCD: FINAL US STATEMENT AT CCD 1978 SUMMER SES- SION
TAGS: PARM, US, CCD, (FISHER, ADRIAN S)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/31ee6f61-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014